

PRESIDENT'S SECRETARIAT
(LIBRARY)

Accn. No. C 4737 Class No. 080

The book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below.

[illegible]

**Speeches on the War delivered by His
Excellency Sir John Austen
Hubback, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Governor of Orissa**

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON
THE 2ND SEPTEMBER 1939.

We meet this morning under the shadow of a great catastrophe. The German Government launched yesterday morning an unprovoked attack by land and air on Poland, and it is now practically certain that the British Commonwealth and the French Republic will come to the aid of Poland with the full force of their arms.

We, in Orissa, may think ourselves far from the field of conflict, as indeed at the moment we are. But we cannot stand aside from it. Much as we all hate violence, and especially violence that falls indiscriminately on peace-loving peoples, we are driven by the action of the head of the German State to meet force with force. He claims that is all he is doing, but it is a claim which no impartial person would admit.

I trust that in the sorrowful time which seems certain to lie before us, I can count on the whole-hearted support of all Oriyas in the measures which my Government may have to take for the prosecution of a just war to a successful end. With a clear conscience we shall be helping to secure that good faith, good feeling and good fellowship will not be permanently banished from the world.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR
JOHN HUBBACK AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE PURI
ELECTRIC SUPPLY WORKS ON THE 27TH APRIL 1940.

You have spoken, Mr. Das, of the anxiety you felt, while much of that material was at the outbreak of war still on the high seas, exposed not only to the ordinary perils of storm and tempest but to the menace of the King's enemies. I shared with you the relief felt when news of its safe arrival in port came through. I agree with you that it was due to the grace of God. But I would add that under God it was by the protection of the British Navy.

Unlike most of the inhabitants of India we in Puri live with the surge of the sea constantly in our ears. We look southwards over a waste of waters stretching with no land to interrupt to the South polar icefields. We can well realise that by far the greater part of the globe is made up of the Seven Seas.

I expect it has occurred to many of you, as it has occurred to me very frequently during the last four years, that Orissa has 300 miles of coast line, completely undefended from attack by sea. This has not, however, given me any sleepless nights. Why? Because I had full faith in the British Navy. In the last eight months that faith has been justified. But, though in that period and especially in the last few weeks, Germany has lost a quarter of her ships of war, that country has still a great many vessels which if they could reach the Bay of Bengal could in half an hour blow Puri and most of its inhabitants to bits. If they could get here and if it served in the least the interests of the blood-thirsty gang that governs Germany, they would not hesitate for a moment to do so. Far, very far, away from us the British Navy has kept ceaseless watch to avert that danger from us and from a vast number of other places in the world. For a century and a quarter the Navy has patrolled the Seven Seas unchallenged, save for two German challenges. The first of 1914 ended with a German fleet at the bottom of Scapa Flow, and for the second I expect an even more ignominious end. During that long period of 125 years the officers and men of the Navy have prayed daily that they may be a safeguard unto the King and his Dominions and a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions. Their prayers have been answered, though at times only when reinforced by heroic sacrifice and at all times by constant watchfulness and devotion to duty.

Those of us who are permitted even in war time by the might of the British Navy to pass on our lawful occasions are entitled to ask a question. It is, whether if and when India as a whole seeks and secures Independence, those who then guide her destinies can give to you all an equally sure shield against future brutal and treacherous aggression.

* * * *

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY
SIR JOHN HUBBACK AT THE ANNUAL PRIZE-GIVING
CEREMONY OF THE PURI ZILA SCHOOL ON THE 24TH
MAY 1940.

* * * *

Now I am going to tell you all some truths which I hope you will not easily forget. A month ago I spoke in Puri of the debt we in Orissa owe to the British Navy. Up to that date

the Navy had borne the brunt of Hitler's attack on civilization, and I am quite sure will, if need be, do that again. I should now like to speak of the debt we owe to our Army and Air Force and to the armies and air forces of our allies. This last month has been a period of anxiety and the last week of very grave anxiety. Our forces are engaged in the greatest battle in the world's history and have a tremendous task before them which they are carrying out with all courage and energy. You have heard how the people of Great Britain have responded to the call and have placed by the unanimous vote of Parliament their whole resources of men, women and possessions at the absolute disposal of His Majesty the King acting on the advice of a completely national Government. They have done so in serene confidence that their cause is just and will, whatever be the sacrifices needed, prevail.

Such confidence does not rest merely on the material resources that can be brought to bear against the organized and relentless fury of Hitlerism. It rests far more on the moral rejection by all men of good heart of the aims and methods of that menace. That moral rejection was widely manifested in India when Hitler broke into Poland. I think it has been greatly intensified by the treacherous attacks on Norway, Holland and Belgium, countries which had sought safety in strict neutrality.

With these countries and part of France too ravaged by the German hordes the threat to all other peace-loving countries has grown very much closer. It is incredible that, should the outcome of this war be what Hitler desires, India would escape the domination of himself or his associates in crime, and that domination would, as we well know, be utterly ruthless.

But we must not over-emphasise our fears, since fear is not the right basis for the calm and constant courage needed to resist evil. Let us rather seek that basis in ancient tradition that has enabled our forefathers to distinguish the right from the wrong.

Resist evil we must with all our power. In ordinary circumstances we can do this by controlling our natural instincts to resent personal affronts and by doing so hope to make those who offer them relent. On this point I should like to quote an address given recently to the students of Oxford University by Lord Halifax, better known to us in India as Lord Irwin.

"I know that it is said by men of high principle that force in itself, if not an evil thing, has a value only negative. I think

this is an exaggeration. Most true it is that force cannot of itself exercise the evil spirits that enter and deprave the hearts of men. But when these evil spirits invoke force for the prosecution of their purpose, and the struggle is thus joined in the physical arena, it is only by force on the battle ground thus chosen that the evil can be resisted ”.

This to me indicates without shadow of doubt the line of conduct to be followed in these awful circumstances by all men, and I claim to be one of them, who hate violence and war, but hate still more the suppression of the freedom of the human spirit. That line of conduct is, in so far as in us lies, to do everything and to omit nothing that can contribute to the defeat of Hitler and all he stands for.

Here in Orissa I feel, and I expect you all feel, that our opportunities for active contribution have so far been slight. We have no great factories for the output of war material and few of us have military training to fit us immediately as combatants. We can and we have contributed our money and I hope that we shall all continue to do so on an increasing scale. I know too that the women of Orissa have been busy with their fingers and in other ways. If larger opportunities come our way, I am sure that we shall do our best to seize them. I would ask you to do more ; to turn over and over in your minds what possibilities there are for service.

There is one thing that we can all do and that is to seek to compose our differences, and to remove all bitterness between those who agree that we are up against a gigantic manifestation of evil, which it is our duty to resist at whatever cost to ourselves.

Finally, we can, I am certain, do much by keeping constantly in our thoughts, and I would add in our prayers, those who in peril of war are serving the cause on which rests the future happiness of the world. Two days hence I shall be joining with those of my own religion in special prayers for the success of the Allied Arms. May I ask those of you who use other approaches to the throne of God to do the same ?

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY AT CUTTACK ON THE
17TH JUNE 1940 AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE PROVINCIAL
WAR COMMITTEE.

My Friends :

It is hardly necessary for me to explain why I have invited you to meet in an informal conference to-day. For the last six

weeks we have heard or read of the growing successes of the arms of our enemy, of the overrunning of Holland, the entry into Belgium, the break through the French lines at Sedan, the consequent isolation of the British and French troops placed to protect Belgium and the Channel Ports, the defection of the King of the Belgians which gravely increased their peril, their heroic retreat to Dunkirk with the loss of nearly all their material, but thanks to their steadfast courage and the magnificent work of their comrades in the air and on the sea, with a loss of less than a tenth of a force that the Germans claimed to have completely surrounded. I am sure you are all as proud as I am that in that heroic retreat and embarkation the Indian contingent played so fine a part. Then we have had in the past fortnight to learn day by day of the advance of the enemy over and beyond the country, whose map is thick with names familiar to all who remember the last war, of the entry of Italy into the war—at what seemed to her leader the most advantageous and to the rest of the world the most treacherous moment—of the retirement of the French army behind their beloved capital.

It is not for me or for any other amateur to prophesy what the immediate future may bring us. We must steel ourselves for further bad news. It is certain that the successes that Hitler's generals have gained have cost the German people enormous expenditure in material, and still more enormous losses in men. How much longer they can afford these losses we cannot tell. But I would remind you that the British and French Fleets still effectively command the seas. Our air forces, though still outnumbered, have proved over and over again that plane for plane they are greatly superior, and our factories are working at full pressure to surpass in numbers too the power of the enemy. Two days ago the President of the United States announced that that great country was redoubling its efforts to supply the Allies with war material, and it may be that his announcement had even greater significance. Two great Muslim countries, Egypt and Turkey, have in the past few days given clear proofs of their sympathy with our cause.

. Lastly the dark days through which we have passed and through which we are passing have only strengthened the unity of the British Commonwealth and its resolve to fight on with grim resolve till victory is achieved.

These great events of which I have been speaking have brought to all thinking people in India a clear idea of what

modern war means ; in particular, the entry of Italy into the war has brought India much nearer to the actual struggle. Those who have wished for nine long months to do something really worth doing for the cause for which the Allies are fighting are still more urgently anxious to help and their numbers have very greatly increased. It is to consult on what we can do, that I have called you here this morning.

* * * *

I have taxed your patient hearing rather greatly. I have in mind taxing that of other audiences before long, since, if this conference deems it useful—and I seek your candid opinion—I would be ready to address a public meeting in Cuttack a few days hence and other meetings elsewhere in the province before long.

I have nothing more to say than to urge on you all as the Viceroy urged on us a month ago to seek Unity, to maintain our Courage in the face of everything and to place our Faith in God, in the justice of our cause and in its ultimate victory.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF
ORISSA AT BERHAMPUR ON THE 2ND SEPTEMBER 1940.

My Friends :

For just one year we have been at war with Germany. We entered on the war with a clear knowledge that it would mean a long and hard struggle, immense sacrifices and wide-spread suffering. But all this had to be faced. Otherwise the world would be dominated by the gangsters who support the regime known as Hitlerism. This Mr. Gandhi in June last described very aptly as a rule of "naked ruthless force". In the midst of the battle of France Hitler stimulated his hordes of barbarians by telling them that yet one more effort would secure their domination for 1,000 years. That would be a Kaliyuga indeed. Immense sacrifices there have been and wide-spread suffering, extending not only to those nations who originally took up arms, but to those nations too who hoped by a neutral attitude to escape. Those sacrifices and that suffering will continue until victory has been achieved.

For six black weeks in May and June it looked as if the powers of evil might prevail, and this generation and indeed many succeeding generations of men would be ground down under such a tyranny as the world has never seen. That danger

has, for the time being, receded. For this we have to thank the might of the Royal Navy, the skill and heroism of the Royal Air Force, the courage and discipline of the Army, the unremitting toil of the munitions workers, the very welcome aid of the freedom-loving peoples of America, and last but by no means least the magnificent spirit and resolution of the vast majority of the civil population of the British Commonwealth and of their leaders, of whom the chief is Mr. Winston Churchill.

I say the danger has receded. But it is still there. Britain herself has beaten off, from her shores, the first onslaught by air. In the good Providence of God, she will continue to beat off with far greater loss to the enemy that or any other form of attack. Mussolini, who did not venture into the war, till France was beaten, has so far continued to display his prudence in risking neither Italy's Fleet nor her Armies in any equal contest with ours. When he does decide to throw prudence to the winds, he will, I trust, meet with a response not at all to his liking. To give that response Indian troops in the Middle East are ready and eager along with their comrades in arms.

But wars are not won merely by beating off attacks, and it is evident that our energies must also be devoted to counter-attack. Already our bomber squadrons are carrying havoc far and wide on military objectives in Germany, in the territories she has occupied, and in Italy and her dependencies. Many of the places so successfully attacked were believed by our enemies to be out of our reach. They have had a rude awakening and will, I trust, have a ruder.

Here in India we have so far escaped the horrors of war, though not its sacrifices. That is all the more reason why we should use our immunity to increase our contribution to the general war effort. It cannot be denied that the progress of the war, especially during the last four months, has brought India nearer to the scenes of conflict. Though Italy's occupation of British Somaliland has not advanced her bases any closer to India (and she has paid a high price for that minor success), it certainly enhances the need for vigilance by those responsible for protecting India against an attack from the west. An attack from the East, which would mean much more immediately to us here in Orissa, is by no means outside the bounds of possibility.

What should we be doing to meet these possibilities? In the first place we should be facing them with a steady mind, neither brushing them aside as so unlikely as to be no concern of

ours, nor exaggerating them as so close that it is now useless for us individually to do anything. The first is folly, the second is despair, and both attitudes will, if the threat ever materialises, lead to panic.

The threat to India is of course a part of the general threat to the British Commonwealth. At the moment the greatest danger is to Britain herself and the best answer to that danger is the bombing of enemy objectives in Europe. We can aid India best of all at the moment in helping to make the Air Force of the British Commonwealth not *the best* in the world, for it is that already, but *the largest* as well. And that aid, as we hear daily, is forthcoming from Provinces and States and indeed from individual districts throughout India. Let us in Orissa not miss the credit nor lose the privilege of giving that aid.

Next India's own defence is best secured not on her own shores, but in her far flung outposts West and East. We can aid these by supplying, both by the work of our hands or by our money, military needs or comforts to the troops in Egypt or in Singapore.

Finally, we can help in every possible way to strengthen the Home Forces in India, on whom ultimately rests her safety should she, which God forbid, be brought into the battleground. We can help with our money, with our willingness to serve in any capacity that may be useful, with our steadfastness in peril, if it comes, and with our determination to exclude from our minds the possibility of defeat by the powers of evil.

I am speaking to those who are as eager as I am to do all that they can to defeat those powers of evil, and only seek guidance and encouragement to do so. I have something now to say about those who do not show the same eagerness. Following the instructions of the Congress Working Committee my late Ministry resigned ten months ago. I understand that their main reason was that the Congress party had not been consulted before war was declared and in particular before troops were despatched from India when war was imminent. It should be and should have been obvious to anyone, who had even a very moderate knowledge of the situation in August 1939, that the fewer people who know anything about the movement of troops by sea, the better. Surely few Indians would have been willing to expose Indian soldiers to greater risks than they then actually ran in reaching Egypt and Singapore. Remember it

cost the loss of the "Courageous" and the "Royal Oak" and many a good ship besides both of the Navy and the Mercantile Marine before the menace of the German Navy was mastered.

Certain demands were put forward by the Congress party as a condition for their active support of the war effort. Many of their leaders had already offered their *moral* support and had been loud in their condemnation of Adolf Hitler and all his works. Those "demands" were evidently wholly unacceptable to a very large number of their fellow Indians, and indeed regarded by them as an attempt to gain as secure a domination over all Indians as Mussolini gained in 1922 over all Italians or Hitler gained in 1933 over all Germans.

I do not propose to recount my impressions of what has since occurred up to the most recent event. That event is rejection by the Congress party, or at any rate, by its Working Committee, of the offers made by His Excellency the Viceroy on August 8th. The offer of most immediate importance was to bring their leaders, along with the leaders of other parties, entirely without prejudice to what may happen after a victorious conclusion of the war, into the inner counsels of the Government of India, making them part of the Supreme Executive of India. That offer has been rejected by the leaders of the Congress party.

It seems to me that those who rejected that offer had various reasons for their decision. First there are those who honestly believe that a perfect demonstration of non-violence will remove the ills to which humanity is now subjected. There has been a theory that the charging tiger can be quelled by the power of the human eye. I have never tested that theory myself nor heard of any marked success by any one who has. Secondly, there are those, who, lacking such faith still believe that the unity and prestige of the Congress party to which they have attached themselves and from which they derive their own importance, are much more vital than the defeat of Hitlerism or the death of the tiger. Thirdly, there are some—I hope in the genuine ranks of the Congress but few, but I am sure in the parasites attached to that body no negligible number—who are not ashamed to hope that, in the event of the success of Hitlerism, their actions in impeding war effort in India will be counted to them for Righteousness, in the very peculiar sense which that word conveys to such people.

No doubt all these three classes have satisfied their consciences that the line they are taking is the best interests of the

party to which they belong. Whether it is in the best interests of India or of the world it is for the future to decide. But do any of those points of view really fit in with a condemnation of Hitlerism? Certainly not the third, and it is the third that really matters.

In the past ten months Provincial Governments including the Government of Orissa have taken action under the Defence of India Act passed by the Central Legislature against a number of people who have actively opposed by word or deed the war effort of India. In a recent declaration by the Congress Working Committee this action has been described as an attempt "to undermine the strength of the Congress by picking up and arresting hundreds of public workers, including the best workers of the Congress". The United Provinces Government, a few days ago, announced what kind of people have been arrested in that province. They consist of members of the Communist Party, the Youth League, and the Hindustan Republican Army, of Terrorists, of some who have been convicted of making speeches against recruitment or against contribution to the War Purposes Fund. Lastly they include people who have attempted to profiteer by forcing up prices. Which of these are "the best workers of the Congress"?

Whichever they may be, it does not look as if the body that dictates policy to the Party is likely for the present to contribute effectively to war effort. I can frankly say that I am glad to find in Orissa several gentlemen who have decided that they can no longer submit to such dictation. I am sure we all welcome their decision. I hope there may be more and more of them, both in Orissa and throughout India, to swell the numbers ready to do all they can to win the War.

I am now going to touch on a more local matter. The other day it was proposed that the Provincial War Committee should recommend that all people with more or less certain incomes should contribute one day's pay every month to the War Fund. Several members of that Committee were opposed to the idea and I must say I myself did not like it for the following reasons. First, we were a body of rather well-to-do people and it is hardly our business to prescribe the duty of those much less well off, especially as we cannot know all their circumstances. Secondly, it savoured rather of compulsion or at least pressure, and, as I said in my appeal, I want to avoid that entirely. Thirdly, it was no use making such a recommendation unless we were unanimous and we were evidently not that. *But do not let me be misunderstood.* I think everybody can

and should make some contribution, and if any body of people such as the clerks in a certain office like to meet and decide among themselves what they can give, I cordially welcome such a decision. I know of two cases already, the staff of the Ravenshaw College and the staff of the Berhampur Jail, and doubtless there are many more. We all ought to help as much as we can, and I am quite sure that the vast majority of us, whether landholders, lawyers, cultivators, merchants, or public servants, are anxious to do so. At such a time it is well for us to remember Wordsworth's lines:—

“ Give all thou canst. High Heaven rejects the lore.
Of nicely calculated less or more.”

During the time that I have been Governor of Orissa, and that time is now drawing to a close, I have been accused now and again of setting one part of the province against another. I do not admit my fault up to now, but I feel the time has come for giving my critics a fair further opportunity. My strong impression is that South Orissa has so far been distinctly more active in war effort than North Orissa, and I am prepared here to join in the slogan “South Orissa leads the Way”. But when I return as I shall do in a day or two to what is to me the more familiar part of the province, I warn you that I shall be equally ready to join in the slogan “North Orissa must overtake”.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF
ORISSA AT CUTTACK ON THE 4TH SEPTEMBER 1940.

My Friends:

I spoke two days ago at Berhampur, on the first anniversary of the declaration of war between the British Commonwealth and Germany. Perhaps some of you have already seen that speech. At any rate, I am not going to be so impolite to the citizens of the capital of Orissa as merely to repeat what I said two days ago.

I suppose that a year and two days ago, a great many people in the British Commonwealth felt like me a distinct relief that a decision had been taken and that the period of “appeasement” was over. I am not, emphatically not, one of those who thought then or now think that the policy of “appeasement” was wholly wrong. Modern warfare brings about such tremendous suffering and such vast sacrifices that it is not for uninstructed persons like myself to condemn those who “laboured for peace” even while others “made themselves ready for battle”. What can be criticised is that the appeasers

did not begin soon enough or labour hard enough to make us too more ready for battle, if it should come. This same criticism has been voiced rather strongly in regard to the Government of India; mainly *after* and not *before* the disasters of the battle of Flanders and of the battle of France had awakened India to possible perils to herself. In the six years before war broke out, that is to say, from the time that Hitler secured control of Germany, there was certainly little activity among non-officials of any standing to strengthen the Defence Forces of India. Indeed year after year the Defence Estimates were condemned as grossly excessive.

Well it is easy to be wise after the event, and easier still to criticise those who were not supremely wise before the event. What we have to do is to face up to the event. That wants courage from all of us. A year ago we may have hoped that Poland would be able to put up a stiff resistance until such time as France and Britain could come effectively to her aid. That hope was early dispelled. We perhaps believed that the German people would repudiate their leaders. Later we may have thought that Hitler had exposed a very weak flank by crossing the sea to Norway. Yet later we may have imagined that his equally unprovoked attack on Holland and Belgium would give opportunities for counter-attack which he could not resist. All these hopes have been dispelled, and we had to pass through the black six weeks of May and June.

But "if hopes were dupes, fears may be liars" and some of our fears have been liars. We were none to sure that at the outbreak of war the intensive submarine attack which Germany launched would not be even more successful than the extremely dangerous one of the early months of 1917. It took the fine courage of units of the Royal Navy and the keen intelligence of the scientists of Britain to devise a complete answer to the magnetic mine. Mr. Chamberlain, in a much misinterpreted phrase, declared that Hitler had "missed the bus" when he refrained in the early months of the war from launching upon London and other vital centres in Britain, his then greatly superior air force. We were not sure that the menace of the pocket battleship raider could be effectively dealt with, until the gallant seamen of Exeter, Ajax and Achilles proved that it could. Yet again we must remember with satisfaction that for the first eight months of the war, Mussolini was good enough to leave the Mediterranean unmolested by the forces under his control, and has since given us further time to make good the gaps in our plans which were left by the collapse of France.

I have balanced our disappointed hopes against our dissipated fears. But we must always remember that the enemy may be able to throw more weight into the adverse scale of the balance. If things look less black now than they did two and a half months ago, we must not switch over from apprehension to over-confidence. Britain herself in the first half of August has beaten off with great loss to the enemy the first wave of massed air attack. Germany has reverted to the plan of sending much less numerous aircraft to bomb *indiscriminately* in the hope that there are some less resolute Englishmen and women than those pilots whom her airmen have had to meet. Nuisance raiding has certainly not made the slightest impression on the morale of Britain. There is the same spirit of calm confidence whether it is displayed by Mr. Churchill watching air battles from the cliffs of Dover or by small children picking up fragments of bombs as souvenirs.

Meanwhile the British Air Force day after day and night after night has been carrying out not *indiscriminate* attacks but *carefully planned* attacks, on munition works, petrol stores, air bases, railway junctions and many other military objectives in Germany and Italy and in the territories they at present dominate. The Navy intensifies the blockade on Germany and Italy and was able the other day to bombard at point blank range two Italian bases on the coast of Libya. The Army in England is preparing not merely to deal with any troops Hitler is rash enough to send across the sea, but to counter-attack, when the time comes, on the continent of Europe.

Still there is a great deal to be done by everyone before victory will be achieved, and it is our duty and our privilege here in India to do all we can. Our immunity, so far, from the horrors of war and from the greater sacrifices that it involves, makes that duty all the clearer. Nor can we be sure that that immunity will continue. Attacks from the air can be successfully brought off from bases 600 miles from the objectives, as our Air Force is reminding the citizens of Berlin, Milan and Turin. We can set no limit to their future range.

I expect you know that an air raid precautionary scheme is being prepared for Cuttack itself, even though the danger is not yet at all imminent. I shall want your co-operation in that before long, and I am sure you will all agree that preparedness is the best assurance against panic. I expect that the Civic Guard, which has now been formed, and I am told is showing great keenness, will be of very great assistance here. Those of us who are too old to join that force can still do much to steady public opinion.

We can all too in our several ways dispel apathy towards war effort, or, what is still more dangerous, hidden or open opposition to it. The leaders of a large party in India have, unfortunately, adopted one or other of these attitudes. The rest of us really do believe that a victory for Hitlerism would mean the loss for years or may be for centuries of anything that deserves the name of Freedom. It is for us to close up our ranks and to see that the nuisance value of those who still follow the lead of the Congress Working Committee is reduced to the smallest possible dimensions—to see to it, in fact that the aid and comfort that they are giving intentionally or inadvertently to the forces of evil is wholly ineffectual.

It is cheering to us, who have all along for the last year felt it our duty to fight against Hitlerism to the best of our power, to find that several, who had ties of party loyalty to take into account, have decided to sever those ties rather than help by their apathy the enemy cause. We admire their courage and welcome their active co-operation.

What can we do further ? I think one thing we can do is to refrain from ill-informed criticism of the Central Government in India. There is a tendency to imagine that nothing was done in the early months of the war and little in the later. I can assure you that this is entirely wrong. War effort there was active from the start and has become more and more active. It has already far surpassed the effective contribution made by India at the end of the last war, in everything except man power. And, as we all probably realise by this time, this war is not going to be one by pushing ill-trained and ill-equipped men into the battle.

I am as anxious as any one in Orissa to see her war effort expanded in every possible way, but I am even more anxious that the war effort of India as a whole should be so directed as to make it most effective for winning the war. I shall be as pleased as any Oriya if the Army Department can find a use for all the many young men of this province who are anxious to serve. But I do not want them to be used as "cannon fodder". If one has to die for one's country it is best to die after pitting not only one's brute force but one's trained intelligence against the enemy.

You know that there is a Recruitment Bureau organised under the direction of the Provincial War Committee. One of its functions is to increase the Oriya element in the Territorial Battalion, very inappropriately named the 11/19 Hyderabad Regiment, which we share with Bihar. That battalion has now

been embodied, that is to say, called out for active service in India. We hope in due course to swell Orissa's contribution to a full battalion. But it is evident that in an area, where few have any experience of soldiering, that will take time. In the meantime I welcome the idea of influential people exploring the ground for potential recruits, so that we may be ready for the expansion when we are asked to make it. The Recruitment Bureau has also been occupied in examining applications for service in the Air Force, and certain young men have been picked out as suitable. It is hoped that all these will before long be accepted by the Air Force Command. Further the Bureau is getting ready for the recruitment of a Labour Company.

But I except some of you, who are more or less my contemporaries, will feel much as I do. We are anxious to do what we can to help the young men of Orissa to serve in posts of danger. We would like to know that they had shown by their courage that, now and when it may, unhappily again be necessary, Orissa can take her share in the fight against evil. But our own part—I speak for elderly men like myself—this particular form of war effort seems to me at times to savour somewhat of a vicarious sacrifice. It is in fact a little too like the thrill that we get when we watch the hero of a film braving dangers to which we ourselves are never likely to be called upon to face.

So I will ask again what can we do who for one reason or another cannot fight. I have already shown that we have the duty of steadying opinion by our ordinary conversation with those we meet, and by public speaking in any place where we can command an audience. But besides that we have the evident duty of giving as freely as we possibly can. Some, I mean particularly the women of Orissa, can give much and are giving much by the labour of their hands. But for unskilled labourers like myself, our contribution has to be in our own money, or in the money which we can persuade more apathetic people to give. I say "persuade" because I have expressly deprecated any attempt to apply pressure. I have even discouraged the Provincial War Committee from attempting to lay down a scale for those with fixed incomes. Whatever scale is laid down, it may well be too much for some, and it will certainly be far too little for others. But I am most glad to learn day after day that yet another band of friends, such as the staff of the Ravenshaw Collegiate Girls' School, has decided to raise among themselves a monthly contribution. I know

there are comparatively few rich men in Orissa, but there are more than 8 million people in all, and if most of these do what they can and ought, we should soon be able to constitute sums not insufficient compared with what have already been raised in other provinces. Madras with a population not six times that of Orissa has already raised 23 lakhs. Assam whose population is scarcely bigger than ours has already raised more than 1½ lakhs. I have not got our latest figures, but I am afraid they are still much below those I have quoted.

At Berhampur the day before yesterday I said South Orissa was leading the way in our provincial war effort. Coming back to that part of Orissa which I have known for many more years, I urge my friend of longer standing to see to it that North Orissa speedily and effectively challenges for the lead in the race. There is one more way in which we can help, by constantly remembering those who are fighting for us in distant lands, seas and skies, and by praying for their success and safety. His Majesty the King Emperor has named September 8th as a special day for prayer throughout the British Commonwealth, and I hope all those in Orissa, who resolutely believe in the justice of our cause will observe that day in one way or another. Our chief enemies the Nazis are saturated with racial *pride*. They have for years past been instructing the youth of Germany in *malice* and hatred directed against all other races. They have *devised* most powerful instruments of war and most devilish methods of using them. I, for one, shall feel it entirely proper to pray next Sunday for victory over the Nazis and to ask in all humility that Almighty God will "abate their pride, assuage their malice and confound their devices".

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF
ORISSA ON THE 17TH SEPTEMBER 1940 AT THE VICTORIA
DISTRICT HALL, SAMBALPUR.

My Friends:

I am very glad you have given me this opportunity of speaking to you about War Effort.

First of all I want to give you my own impression of how the war is going. The main battle still rages as it has raged for the last six weeks over England and the narrow seas that guard her shores, over German-occupied territories in Belgium, Holland and Northern France and finally over Germany itself and Northern Italy. It is a battle in the skies. The German

principal aims seem to have been first to render the English Channel and the Straits of Dover, the narrow seas that separate England from France, untenable for our shipping, second to throw back our air bases from close proximity to the coast, and third to terrorise London. The loudly trumpeted invasion of England which is already a month overdue would no doubt follow quickly on the accomplishment of those preliminary aims. But they have not been accomplished yet. Shipping still goes through the Straits of Dover to the port of London undeterred either by bombs from above or guns from the French coast. Our planes still take off from the aerodromes of Kent and Sussex. London is still undismayed.

The battle of Britain is not yet over and perhaps Hitler will soon attempt to launch his invasion. If he does so, neither the Navy nor the Army nor the Home Guard will be slow to seize their chances. In the meantime he has been losing in the past six weeks about 50 planes a day, three planes to every one British plane lost and a much higher proportion of trained airmen.

The other side of the picture is the ever-increasing scope and vigour of our bombing attacks on military objectives in enemy or enemy-occupied territory with very little loss to our Air Force. Berlin was assured of immunity from attack; London has been expecting it since the night of September 2nd, 1939. Berlin has been attacked successfully night after night with scarcely any loss of our planes. The Germans have had to pay dearly for what success they have achieved in London.

I say London is undismayed. Let us remember what the people of that city have to face. On Saturday, September 7th, a mass attack was made. Ostensibly the aim was the port and docks, but an American observer has reported that most of the bombs were dropped absolutely indiscriminately and over 90 per cent of them fell on civilian houses mainly in the poorer quarters. Something over 300 people were killed and 1,300 to 1,400 seriously wounded. But what of the raiders themselves? 103 of these were shot down, and more than 400 trained German airmen in consequence lost their lives. Britain lost 22 planes but only 13 airmen.

Similar raids on London have occurred on the following nights. In the last week probably 1,500 civilians have lost their lives. But German planes to the number of at least 400 have been brought down, with the loss of less than 100 of ours. In the last few days the effect of the raids has been much less, owing to a new type of anti-aircraft barrage, which has been successful in driving off all but a very few of the

bombers. Those that do get through are clearly aiming at targets, which they expect will break the spirit of London. Twice the residence of his Majesty the King-Emperor has been hit. Immediately after the second attack His Majesty went to the poorer quarters of London to encourage those who had suffered there. The spirit of British men and women from the King and Queen downwards is not broken but strengthened in the presence of danger.

During the last week the bombing of Berlin has increased in severity. We cannot tell as yet whether the citizens of that city have borne their ordeal with equal fortitude. Meanwhile the Royal Air Force has been very busy and successful in bombing a very large number of other military targets in Germany and German-occupied territory. The Navy and the Fleet Air Arm have been hammering the ports from which Hitler hopes to launch his invading forces and the ships creeping along the coast from one port to another. As Mr. Churchill has warned us, that invasion may come. It will find Britain like London undismayed.

The next scene of action is the Mediterranean and North Africa. On Monday, September 9th, we heard the welcome news that very large convoys of ships had safely arrived in Egyptian ports from Britain, India, Australia and other parts of the Empire bringing great reinforcement of troops, and immense stores of war material of all kinds. These convoys had traversed the seas without any encounter whatever with hostile ships or aircraft. Further we heard a few days earlier from Mr. Churchill that the strength of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean had been doubled. Even before that reinforcement the British Fleet had been able to carry out the operation at ORAM, and to bombard at point-blank range two Italian bases in Libya without any interference whatever from the Italian Fleet. Whenever contact has been made between units of the two fleets, the result has been a hasty bolt for its harbours on the part of the Italian Fleet. On two occasions not even speed availed to save all their ships. We have heard lately of a sweep by the British Fleet from end to end of the Mediterranean, a distance let me remind you of 2,000 miles. The only unhappy event in the course of this operation was that the Italian Fleet was not encountered. Presumably it was keeping what is *not* known in nautical circles as "the port watch". But it is still likely that Mussolini will use the large forces which he has in North Africa in some way or another, and our forces in Egypt in the Sudan and in Kenya are vigilantly awaiting attacks across one or other of the deserts.

There is another kind of warfare that is going on all the time which does not come much into the news. That is the Economic Warfare. Germany has declared a blockade on Britain. Yet Britain continues to receive the supplies she needs and is able as I have just told you to move men and munitions from her coasts to Egypt, and can maintain an extensive export trade. Britain has been blockading Germany for over a year, and even Hitler seems to have at last realised the fact. On September 4th he thundered out to his audience "We must do away with the absurd state of affairs that one nation is in a position at its own sweet will to blockade an entire continent". Absurd it may be but ever increasingly effective. Under the protection of the British Fleets the officers of the blockade are ceaselessly intercepting essential supplies for Germany and Italy and bringing once again the pressure that did so much to shatter German morale 22 years ago.

Meanwhile our strength is rapidly growing in other respects. We had a fortnight ago the splendid news that that great freedom-loving country, the United States of America, is handing over to us 50 Destroyers, the kind of ship of war that is much the most useful at the present stage of the struggle. We are to get further each month up to April 1942, 700 war planes, a reinforcement much larger than our losses even in the fierce fighting of the last six weeks. This is, of course, over and above the war planes now being mass-produced in Britain itself. These are coming into service so rapidly that our daily losses are much more than made up, and our pilots are, therefore, encouraged to use their machines to the last moment, and then to save themselves by their parachutes rather than break off earlier to save a damaged plane.

In exchange for the destroyers Britain has made available to the United States for immediate establishment and use naval and air bases in the West Indies particularly valuable for securing the safety of the Panama Canal. The leases have been granted with the full consent of the people of the West Indian islands concerned. Further Britain has leased sites for the establishment of such bases calculated to protect the east coast of the United States and of Canada. "These rights" President Roosevelt has said, "are gifts generously given and gladly received". What is even more cheering than the access of material strength is the knowledge that behind it all is firm belief in the United States in the justice of the cause for which we are fighting and the determination of the overwhelming majority of the people of that country to help towards the victory of that cause in every possible way.

Why do I call that cause just ? Because we are fighting as Mr. Churchill said in the dark hour after the collapse of France "by ourselves alone but not *for* ourselves alone". We are fighting to rescue from the tyranny of Nazism the peoples now enslaved, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Hollanders, Belgians and French ; yes and we should add many Germans and Austrians who were the first victims of that tyranny. We are fighting to prevent enslavement of other peoples, including the peoples of India.

And what is that tyranny ? Long before war broke out the civilized world was shocked by the measures taken by Hitler against the Jews in Germany itself. They were robbed of all their possessions, deprived of any chance of gaining a livelihood, and most of those who failed to escape from the country were herded into concentration camps and there subjected to the vilest forms of torture till death mercifully came to them. The same treatment was accorded to all who criticized this or any other acts of the Fuehrer. To prevent even private criticism children were urged to spy upon their parents, sisters on their brothers, wives on their husbands.

This was going on, I say, *before* the War started. The documents are there for all to read. What is going on now in Germany itself or in the countries she has overrun, including those which she entered to "*protect*", it is not easy to discover. But I saw a little time ago an article in "the Nineteenth Century and After" describing conditions in Poland last winter, which makes one almost sick to read. Polish girls were taken to the brothels set up for the soldiers on the Western Front. Both boys and girls were sterilized according to a settled policy of reducing the fecundity of the Polish population. Old women and mothers with infants were executed for alleged hostile acts, and so too were boys and girls for no other reason than that they belonged to the Scout or Girl Guide organizations. One hundred and forty boys between the ages of thirteen and sixteen were executed because they did not want to sing a song in praise of Hitler. The Germans are not hiding the fact that they would be glad to see as many Poles as possible starved. "It will mean more room for us" they say. It is reckoned that two million out of the total of 35 million have already perished. This comes from an account by an Englishwoman, who was an eye-witness. It passes my understanding how anyone who looks these facts in the face can believe as some people in India appear to believe, that there is no difference between Hitlerism and what they are pleased to call British Imperialism.

But it is sometimes said or hinted that what I have been telling you this evening is merely British propaganda and that the German wireless tells quite a different story. Day by day the British wireless give precise figures for enemy aircraft shot down and for British losses of planes and pilots. From time to time Mr. Winston Churchill has brought these figures together and has also given us figures of deaths caused by bombing. You will remember he said there were 1,037 people killed during August in Britain. Immediately after the big attack on London on September 7th the figures for deaths (about 400) and for severely wounded (between 1,300 and 1,400) were announced. The deaths were subsequently found to be considerably less than at first announced. Hitler made no similar announcement of losses in his speech of September 4th, but merely contended himself by saying "we shall stop the handiwork of these night pirates". There is no kind of doubt that in the course of the attack on Britain on September 7th at least 103 German planes were destroyed. The German report for that day was "one of the German planes became a victim of anti-aircraft fire and another crashed into the sea". Remember that Hitler and his Liar-in-Chief Goebbels have been at the games of distorting news out of all relation to fact for years. The first, and I trust the last, Fuehrer of the Third Reich stands out in marked contrast to the first of the 32 Presidents of that great country to which I have already alluded. You all know the story of how a small boy George Washington told his father that he could not tell a lie. I suspect that Hitler at the same tender age told *his* father that he could not tell the truth and that must have been the only occasion on which he *did* tell the truth.

I am certain then that we can take the picture of the present state of the War which I have tried to paint for you on the basis of the news put out by British sources as an accurate one, and it seems to me to be one of very clear hope for the future. But though we *shall* win the War, we have not done so yet and there may be two years or more of intense effort, of anxiety and of sorrow still before us. What are we in India and more particularly in Orissa going to do about it? Well, I take it we all want to win the War as quickly as possible.

One thing that would somewhat prolong the War is serious internal trouble here, since it would hamper the flow of men and munitions to the places where they are required, and to which at present they are going with such smooth efficiency.

I know what I am talking about because just about 23 years ago at a crisis in the last War I had as Collector of Gaya to do all I could to prevent the spread of serious trouble started in the neighbouring district of Shahabad. The action required certainly did something to slow up one of the decisive campaigns of the last War, Allenbury's campaign in Palestine.

So I want you all in the first place to help me in every possible way to combat the anti-war efforts of any people who attempt to indulge in them. One way of doing that is by pouncing on lying propaganda and on lying propagandists in the towns or in the villages. I want you too to bring home to every one you can what are the true facts, and by your own calm courage to steady the nerves of others.

Particularly I want your help in subscribing yourselves and inducing others to subscribe to the Orissa War Fund. We are certainly much behind most other parts of India in this respect, though from all I hear both in Sambalpur and in other districts we are beginning to get really going. But we want a sustained effort. I urge you to do all you can. I specially urge the officers of Government. There is some sort of an impression that Government officers are not doing as much as they should in War effort, and that it is desirable that they should be more zealous. I do not agree that they *have* been lacking in zeal. But I do want to make it perfectly clear that all Government officers have the same right and duty as private citizens have, to do all they can to help to shorten the course to victory. I feel sure that the District War Committee and the Sub-divisional and Thana War Committees know their business and I am not myself going to advise anybody as to the precise method of approach to those who through ignorance have not as yet realised the magnitude of the stakes involved, which are no less than the future of the world.

I am told that under orders, received from on high, certain local Congressmen are arranging to collect material to show that people have been bullied into subscribing to War Funds. I shall be quite ready to receive any information so collected on two conditions, first that adequate details are given of the time and place and the name of the bully and his victim, and second that the person who supplies these details at first hand reveals his personality. If the allegation is proved to be true, appropriate steps will be taken, and equally of course if the report is false. But the time and energy of the officers of Government will not be wasted on vague

rumours which I trust you will all ignore. As I have said elsewhere I welcome the help of those who for one reason or another have till recently withheld it, and in particular the help of Moslems who felt themselves bound to wait till their leaders had reached a decision. I trust that there will be a steadily increasing defection from the ranks of those who are still dreaming of a barren and perilous independence.

I am asking you to support War effort. There are, as I see it, two main reasons why any human being takes any action. The first is because he conceives that it is in his own interest to take it. That reason is almost supreme in our very early existence and certainly subsists throughout our life. But for most, if not all of us, there comes another reason, a desire to serve our fellow, at cost to ourselves. Both these reasons urge us to act now. The War is being fought in the interest of India. I do not contemplate what defeat would bring to India, because I do not contemplate defeat. But I know what victory will bring and that is a fuller and better life for all Indians, who have helped by any means, great or small, to bring it about. But the much greater reason for War effort is that any sacrifices we can make are not for ourselves alone, but for the rescue of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the freeing of the world from the dark shadow of terror that now hangs over it.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY AT PURI DISTRICT
WAR COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON THE 1ST NOVEMBER
1940.

My Friends :

During the last seven months I have made two public speeches in Puri. The first occasion was on April 27th, when I reminded you that the security of Puri town from destruction by the blood-thirsty gang, led by Hitler, depended on the strength, courage and constant watchfulness of the British Navy, in which I of course include the Royal Indian Navy. At that time the outcome of Germany's adventure in Norway was still uncertain, and Hitler had not yet launched his Blitzkreig on the neutral countries of Holland and Belgium that enabled him to follow up with the break through of the French lines.

A month later, on May 24 to be precise, I spoke here when Holland after a heroic resistance had been overrun, when Belgium was deeply invaded and when the French front line

had been penetrated. It looked to me then, I may now tell you, as if it was impossible that the flower of the British Army could be saved. On their right flank the French troops had proved unequal to the terrific attack of tanks and aircraft, on their left flank the Belgian King had decided that he and his army could no longer help those he had called to his aid. But we know that the miracle of Dunkirk followed. That was due under God to the supreme steadfastness of the Army, including the Indian contingents, to the daring and determination of the Navy and of the volunteer shipping of all kinds that responded to the call, and to the amazing skill and pluck of the Air Force that beat off much superior forces attempting to turn a reverse into a complete disaster. More than 3½ lakhs of soldiers got away safely from a shore ten miles long, on which the German War Machine was doing all in its power to annihilate them. Those of you, who like myself know what a stretch of shore five miles east and west of the Puri Port looks like, can appreciate better than most Indians what a wonderful feat that was.

When I spoke last in Puri it was yet possible that the French forces still aided by British troops and by troops of the countries Germany had overrun would be able to maintain resistance on a line improvised to defend Paris and Southern France. That hope faded in the last half of June when the Vichy Government agreed to a humiliating armistice enforced not only by the sword of Germany but by the poisoned dagger of Italy. It was then that Mr. Churchill said that "we are fighting *by* ourselves alone but not *for* ourselves alone". What he meant was that Britain and her supporters continued to stand for the essentials of freedom and against the powers of evil that denied those essentials. Those essentials are, security and justice for those who abide by the laws of their country, the right to criticise those laws, and further the right to criticise the manner in which the laws of the land are applied by the executive Government, and to secure that that Government lies in the hands of people whose response to such criticism is something more fruitful than murder of the critics.

It was a month after the collapse of France that Hitler felt ready to begin the battle of Britain. The original date for his triumphal entry into London was August 15th. On that day some 150 of his planes were destroyed. A month later September 16th, all conditions for a successful invasion of Britain were ready, a smooth sea, a full moon and the resulting high tide that would float the tanks to victory. But the night before, the Royal Air Force destroyed Hitler's hopes of a short

war by blasting the invasion ports of conquered France with the troops ready in the barges and warships alongside them as escorts. Further, on the day of September 16th nearly 200 German aircrafts were blown out of the sky by British action.

That was six weeks ago. Since then German aircraft have not exposed themselves by day over Britain in any great numbers. They have come most nights over London and over other places in Britain and have dropped bombs indiscriminately from heights of nearly six miles. It is fairly obvious that the object has been to terrorise the civilian population. This object has not in the least degree been achieved and it will not be achieved. I have had private letters from my old home near Liverpool, which show that there as in London the people are undismayed.

Meanwhile the Royal Air Force has on practically every night been successfully bombing military targets, in particular the Channel Ports where the men and material for the invasion of Britain were assembled, the oil refineries and stores, the main ports and dockyards of Germany itself, the vital marshalling yards of the German railway system and the canals that supplement the railways as a means of transport. Berlin itself has come in for some 25 raids. Its railway stations, its electric supply and its factories have greatly suffered. Its population assured by Hitler and his gang of complete immunity have had to spend night after night in shelters.

There is no doubt that the British Air Force on the European front has already established a marked superiority, which grows greater every day. The Battle of Britain is still being fought, and through the winter that is now coming on the civil population will have to continue to display their cheerfulness and fortitude, while the armed forces including the Indian pilots who have recently arrived in England will have to continue to display their skill and valour. That both *will* display those qualities I have not the slightest doubt.

Meanwhile there is another theatre of war, in which India is particularly interested—the Middle East. There the strength of the British forces including large contingents from India, Australia and New Zealand has rapidly increased and is rapidly increasing. India besides sending her splendid troops is steadily pouring in supplies of all kinds. The fighting has been confined to very successful attacks by the Air Force on Italian bases and troop concentrations, to small clashes on the ground, in which we have inflicted very severe casualties with little loss, and to naval engagements. It is to these last that I draw special

attention. The Navy in the Mediterranean and in the Red Sea has not had many opportunities of meeting the enemy. But when the meeting has occurred the Italians have on every occasion had by far the worst of it.

But let me emphasise to you who know what the sea looks like, that the Navy's success is not to be gauged by the frequency with which the forces of an enemy are brought to action. That depends on the frequency with which those forces emerge from their ports. The Navy's success is to be gauged by its power to keep the seas open for our own convoys and to shut them for those of the enemy. And we know that those objects have been very largely attained. It is no doubt a great thing to smash the enemy's fleet, but opportunities for doing so are rare. Even Nelson whose career appears now as one blaze of Naval victories, fought in only four Fleet actions, one as a Captain and three as an Admiral. Those were spaced out over the first twelve of the twenty-two years that Britain was opposing the threat of France to dominate the world. One Fleet action every three years. Few of the naval commanders of that war saw more than one Fleet action. But it was their vigilance that denied the seas to the enemy and kept them free for Britain. Italian radio has recently been claiming naval victories which were in fact heavy defeats. But Mussolini's official newspaper has at the same time been complaining that Britain has got 2½ lakhs of troops ready to deal with the attack of Egypt and that reinforcements still come in. Then too we have heard lately that in the Italian territories along the Red Sea and further south supplies are beginning to run short. As long as the Navy does its job they will run shorter and shorter.

No doubt there are other factors in the general war position, the Balkans, Spain and Japan on the one hand, Turkey and the United States of America on the other. The war is not over by any means, and there may be many surprises, some of them disagreeable, before us. Within the last few days a fresh front has been opened by the wanton attack by Italy on Greece. It is certainly *not* a disagreeable surprise that Greece refused to accept Italy's demands for the right to occupy Corfu, Crete and the port of Athens, and decided to fight. It is rather a proof that Greece recognizes that our own confidence in ultimate victory is well founded. But though our confidence in ultimate victory is great and grows greater, it is no time for us to relax whatever efforts we can make to shorten the course to that victory. I am sure that the great majority of the people of Orissa and of the people of Puri district are fully anxious to do what they can.

There are no doubt some who are seeking to hamper the war effort. These belong to a party, which in the past few years has reproached the British Government for not going to war to defend China from Japan, Abyssinia from Italy, the Czechs from the Germans, and one section of the Spanish people from another. When war did break out the leaders of that party expressed themselves horrified by Germany's crimes against the Polish people, and offered moral support to the British cause. Then, while loudly asserting that they were not bargaining, they offered more active support on certain terms. Those terms all Indians, who were and are actively supporting the war effort, most strongly urged the British Government not to accept. They feared as I have said before, that the Congress Party were seeking a domination in India like Mussolinis in Italy and Hitlers in Germany. Now the latest development of all, the party has come to the conclusion, after a short period of something almost approaching realism, that all wars are contrary to their creed. This latest futility they seek full liberty to preach.

As my first request for greater war effort in Puri district, I ask your aid in checking such foolish and dangerous preaching. You can no doubt devise ways of doing this. Next I should like to see more active signs of the feeling that I know you have of strong support for the cause for which we are fighting, of sympathy for and admiration of the splendid way in which the people in Britain are standing up to the greatest ordeal in their history. The people of Britain, the farmers, the miners, the mechanics, the shop-keepers, the clerks, have, like most of you, to go on day after day doing a dull job to earn a living for themselves and their families. These are the men and women who are sticking it out.

Orissa has by now subscribed about one lakh of rupees to the Fighter Plane Fund, which I started three months ago. Puri has not done its full share towards that total, and I hope it soon will. We are sending in a day or two a cheque to pay for the first fighter to be called Orissa. We want another 30 thousand or so to pay for Orissa II, and then we should like more to pay for more Orissas. Thanks to the plentiful rain a fortnight ago, the paddy crop is generally a good one, and thanks to the protection given you by the Navy and by the Air Force in distant seas and skies you will peacefully enjoy the fruits of your labours. If Puri had been like the countries of Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium or France overrun by Hitler, you would have been left with little of those fruits. In fact you would have been lucky had you and your

families not been deported far from your homes to work for your conquerors. Surely you should show your thankfulness for this blessing. I am most glad to receive this evening an earnest of your effort in this respect in the shape of the purse you are going to hand to me. But I am sure that there are many more in Puri who would gladly swell that sum if they were properly approached.

I want to make one other point. We shall all *give* something to help the war effort, as much as we can. But most of us can do something else and that is *lend* to the Government of India. I think the District War Committees have all necessary information about the Defence Loans. If they have not, they can get it to-morrow from the Provincial War Committee which is meeting here in Puri. When things were looking bad three months ago some people, though not a great many, asked back from Government what they had in one way or another lent. And they got it back. Now that things are much better, let everyone lend as much as they can, in complete assurance that Government is a good repayer.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR ON
THE 11TH NOVEMBER 1940 AT JEYPORE.

My Friends:

I welcome this opportunity of speaking to you once again. I spoke at Jeypore just four years ago. I am now unlikely to speak again here before my five years' term as Governor of Orissa is finished.

When I spoke last here the Province of Orissa had been recently started and like most parts of India and indeed most parts of the world is looked forward to steady and peaceful progress towards better life for all. Something has been achieved. But I am sure that much more could have been achieved, if the first three years of Orissa's existence had not been overshadowed by the threat of the war, and this last year by the awful tragedy of war itself.

The responsibility for plunging a large part of the population of the world into war rests primarily on Adolf Hitler and on the murderous gangsters, who have helped him to power. Secondly it rests on Benito Mussolini, who obviously promised Hitler the passive support of Italy, until the collapse of France made it appear to the short-sighted Italian Government that the fruits of victory could be obtained without serious fighting.

Hitler, after the victories of his armies and his spies on the continent of Europe, has met with his first defeat. For more than three months the Air Arm on which he relied has been seeking to disorganize Britain's armed forces and to terrorise Britain's civil population. He hoped to do enough to let him launch an army across the narrow waters that divide occupied France from England, 20 miles at their narrowest and 100 miles at the broadest. But the Royal Air Force has made daylight raids far too expensive for Hitler's taste. The ground defences too have been able to keep down civilian casualties. The people of England and especially of London and other big towns instead of being frightened are only the more intensely determined not only to crush Hitlerism but to teach the Germans such a lesson that will make them war shy for very many years to come. The Air Force has already hit back with tremendous effect on the parts along the coast of France crammed with troops and shipping collected for the invasion which was promised to the German people 2½ months ago. Further the Air Force has gone far afield in Germany and even to Italy. It has smashed their factories for turning out war material and their communications for moving that material. Finally behind all these efforts stands the British Navy, that force which for the last 350 years has repulsed every tyrant who has sought to invade Britain.

Beaten off there like other tyrants, Hitler has turned eastwards, and has pushed Italy into an adventure against Greece. Italy has for nearly five months been threatening Egypt and the Suez Canal from Libya and from the south. Italy's gains have been the desert country of British Somaliland and some 30 miles of desert along the Mediterranean coast. She has paid very dearly for these gains of territory which have brought her no military advantage whatever. It is still uncertain whether Mussolini will be more fortunate in his attack against that ancient citadel of freedom, Greece, than he has been against that ancient centre of civilization, Egypt. I may remind you that his Press have published a programme that ends with the conquest of an equally ancient centre of civilization, India. Whatever may be the future for India I may say that it is unlikely to be trodden down by the dancing shoe of Italy.

Indeed, so far, in the much easier adventure against Greece Mussolini has had little success. Quick success there would mean much to him, a dagger to point at Egypt. But failure means both for him and Hitler the creation of new and better bases for the British Navy and Air Force, sufficient to make

up in the Mediterranean for those lost by the collapse of France. Let us hope that the magnificent stand which Greece, its ancient champion, has already made on behalf of freedom will with our help bring about that dangerous failure to the two tyrants.

I turn to another country which knows well what freedom means, the United States of America. It gained that freedom in fair fight against my own country, which very unwisely used as its main military force German mercenaries. Those German soldiers indiscriminately burnt the homestead of those who were designated as rebels, and also of those who still preferred to maintain the British connection. Well, that all happened 160 years ago, and few regret the issue of the struggle. But perhaps it is proper to note that Germans still prefer indiscriminate to carefully chosen targets as objects of destruction.

For the last few weeks we have been waiting for the issue of the four-yearly Presidential election in that country. It is something of an impertinence to comment on the choice that a free and friendly country makes at an election. But I think it is not improper to express thankfulness in the choice that the people of the United States *has* made. Mr. Roosevelt has never disguised his own personal belief in the justice of our cause, and he has, within the limits of his position and the needs of his own country, done all in his power to help us. Whether or not the United States will before long be once again fighting on our side, we can at any rate now be sure that the executive head of that great country will be one who not only desires our victory but can continue to bring his vast experience to aid in its achievement. Whatever the people of the United States may decide to do through their new President and through their representative Legislature, which is collectively known as *Congress*, it is now quite certain that the choice lies *only* between (1) continuance of the very benevolent non-belligerence pursued by the United States Government for the last year, and (2) active entry into the war.

Perhaps I may elaborate. The people of the United States are able to express their views by their votes in two ways. First by election of the President every four years, and their President is the very active head of the executive Government; secondly by elections which renew the Senate every six years; and thirdly by a complete election of a new House of Representatives every two years. The two bodies together constitute *Congress* as that word is understood in the United States. The declaration of war rests with Congress.

In India, as you are aware, the word Congress has a different meaning. It means a particular political party. It was, in my view, fortunate that in early September 1939 the Indian Constitution did not provide that the assent of Congress was a necessary prelude to the Declaration of War. For I surmise that the party which has assumed the name of Congress in India would have been still engaged in preliminary discussions on the issue of peace or war, and would have "found no end in wandering mazes lost".

When Mr. Churchill became Prime Minister on May 8th, he told the people of the British Empire that he brought them nothing but blood, tears and sweat. Blood for both the fighting forces and for the civil population. tears for those whose loved ones would be killed, and sweat for those who were and are magnificently labouring to provide the machines, which will give us victory. After the black six weeks which led up to the surrender on June 22nd of the French Government, but not by any means whatever of the French people, we have, as I have already indicated, heard or read much more cheerful news.

One thing has particularly cheered me. That is the very fine response of the Koraput district to the appeal I made 3½ months ago for the Orissa War Fund. Orissa is a poor province, and Koraput with its ravine-scoured hills and its fever-stricken valleys is not as yet even as rich as its sister districts. But the people of Koraput seem to me to have been able to realise more quickly than some other Indians the true facts about the war. I ask you to go on as you have begun. The war is not by any means over. The blood, tears and sweat have not ceased to flow. Here where you and I have escaped all the perils of war we must go on doing whatever we can, thinking all the time that it is little enough and thinking all the time of what more we can do. As I have said Koraput has already made a fine response to my appeal for the Orissa War Fund, and I understand you are going to present me with a purse this evening that will very materially swell your total. You perhaps have heard that we have already been able to cable to Lord Beaverbrook the money for a fighter aeroplane to be called Orissa I, and have promised Orissa II within a short time. By the end of this month I have hopes of Orissa III, and I should like to see Orissa IV before the end of the year.

Some of us at any rate can afford to go on paying something every month and others at longer intervals. Many others, if they cannot *give* any more at present, can perhaps take

advantage of the Defence Loan schemes in one way or another, and so help the Government of India to strengthen the armed forces in India itself.

I am very glad to learn that there has been a good response in Jeypore to the call for recruits to the Labour Company that is to be raised here and in Ganjam I wish the recruits the best of luck and I ask the District and Divisional War Committees to remember that there is a new opening for their efforts, the care of the families of those who have offered their services.

Lastly I would ask all my hearers and those who read this speech to bear in mind the danger of the *anti-war* efforts that some people in India are planning. I am quite sure that the great majority of the people of Orissa desire the success of our struggle against the still powerful forces of evil. A minority in Orissa seek to prolong the war by slowing down war effort. Their only excuse for that attitude is party advantage. I ask for your active help in defeating all such attempts from the misguided minority, who are, I trust unconsciously, acting as allies to those forces of evil.

I have just one thing more to say. Many of us heard yesterday of the death of Mr. Neville Chamberlain on whom as Prime Minister fourteen months ago rested the terrible responsibility of bringing the Empire into war. Whatever we may think of his earlier policy, and I for one think that history will give him far more credit than many people are prepared now to give him, we are all agreed that in the crisis of August-September 1939 he took the right course. His wish that he might live to see the world freed from the awful night of Nazism has not been fulfilled. But before he died he saw the beginning of the turn of the tide. When victory comes he, like others who strove for peace but were ready if needs be to face battle for the right, will be "freshly remembered".

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR ON
THE 13TH NOVEMBER 1940, AT NOWRANGAPUR.

My Friends:

You no doubt know that two days ago I spoke at Jeypore on the war and on the war effort we should all be making. Some of you were present there. But I feel that you do not want me merely to repeat what I said there. In war time every day the situation changes and for those of us who are fortunate

enough to be still far away from the front line, that means that the emphasis we should give to the news we receive one way or another also changes. For India there are at the moment two things that matter. First of all there is the continued attack by air on Britain. That is still the most important concern in India as it is in the world as a whole. For as things are, however much some Indians may, rightly or wrongly, wish they were different, the future of India depends on the ability of Britain to beat off the German attack by air and sea, and ultimately to hit back with such force as to win the war.

To put it quite plainly the disorganization of the British Government, in the sense that the French Government has been disorganized would mean for India domination by Hitler and his gangsters, or by Mussolini and *his* gangsters. We all know here what complete contempt Hitler has publicly expressed many times over for any race, except that which most unfortunately produced himself. We know to what Mussolini's record is in dealing with people other than Italians in Libya, Abyssinia and Albania.

To save herself, to save India from the domination of German or Italian gangsters, and to save the world from such domination, the British Empire has for the last four months been fighting almost alone. Not entirely alone because there are with us Free France, and the stout-hearted Poles, Czechs, Danes, Norwegians, Dutch and Belgians who are ready to fight on though their countries have been overrun by the forces of evil. England, the heart of the empire, has beaten off the attack, at a cost, up to date, of 14,000 civilians killed and 20,000 seriously injured, most of them in or near London. The Royal Air Force by its magnificent skill and courage, aided as we have recently heard by the amazing accuracy of the gunners of the ground defences, have gained the first victory over Hitler. But these splendid efforts would have been useless, but for the resolution of the civil population. It is the farmers, the clerks, the shop-keepers and the factory hands of England who are going to win this war by sticking it out. That means going on with one's job, in spite of the prospect of spending most of one's night in an underground shelter and most of one's day in expecting a bomb.

The next thing that concerns India is what is happening in the Middle East. From that area comes to India the most serious threat after, and not very much after, the threat of the

collapse of Britain. Here, too, in recent months we have grounds for cheerfulness. Up to now the Italian attack of Egypt has been held up. Indeed in the last few days we have heard of successful encounters on the southern Egyptian front, to vary the news we have had for several weeks of successful naval and air force action on the Libyan front.

Mussolini has switched over to an attack on Greece, a country which has through a long year of war given no provocation whatsoever. There is some evidence that he expected a speedy victory, which he has certainly not got. If he and his fellow gangster Hitler do not get that speedy victory, his adventure will give us fresh bases from which our ever increasing air force can strike with ever increasing vigour.

And our Air Force is already striking with considerably more vigour and much greater success than the Air Forces of our enemies. For the last three months we have been hearing every day of accurate and intensive bombing of military objectives in Germany and in German-occupied countries. A few days ago we heard of a terrific air attack on Hitler's home-town of Munich, which like Berlin is 500 miles from our aerodromes. We have heard too of several attacks on Brindisi, the principal Italian port for operations against Greece, while Milan and Turin in northern Italy, full of most important munition factories, have had another hammering.

The operations in the eastern Mediterranean and in and around Egypt are, as I have said, the particular concern of India. Egypt is more than 5,000 miles away from the nearest Indian port, but it is nevertheless the front line of defence for India. Further it is in Egypt that the principal war effort of India is being made and will in increasing degree be made. It is to Egypt that India's fighting forces have gone and will go, and it is to Egypt that supplies of all kinds are going from India.

As Mr. Churchill said a week ago "We are far better off than anyone would have ventured to predict four or five months ago". But the war has not yet been won. Nothing but such a victory, as will teach people like Hitler and Mussolini that those who draw the sword will perish by the sword, can bring back to men and women throughout the world a chance of decent thinking and decent living. This means that all of us must continue and increase our war effort.

I must say that I have been greatly heartened by the response in Koraput district to my appeal for the Orissa War

Fund. I received a purse of Rs. 15,000 two days ago at Jeypore contributed by the tenants and the officers of the Samasthanam. To-day I am to receive another purse contributed by Government officers throughout the district, and I know well that these sums are in supplement to large contributions already made by the inhabitants of Koraput district. These two purses will bring the Fund to well over what is required for the fighter plane to be known as Orissa II. Indeed we are already well on the way to Orissa III. If all other districts in the province had done as well as Koraput, we should be well on the way to Orissa IV. All I can say to you about war gifts is "go on as you have begun".

But I should like to say something about Defence Loans. As no doubt many of you are aware Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member, has recently reviewed the financial position in introducing a Supplementary Budget. He has given us a much better insight into what India as a whole has done up to date in the way of war effort and what India can do. What a good many of us will have to do is to pay more income-tax, and I do not think any of us grudge doing that to help to win the war. But it is clearly right that some of the very large expenditure in India on the war should be postponed for a few years by way of raising loans. I, therefore, appeal to all of you who have the means to do it, to subscribe in one way or another to Defence Loans. If anyone does not know how to do this, the local War Committee will explain.

Earlier in my speech I have attempted to give you some idea of the debt we all owe to the young men of the Royal Air Force, who have in the past three months inflicted on Hitler his first defeat. I am sure you share with me the greatest satisfaction in hearing that Indian pilots are now sharing the dangers and the triumphs of the Air Battle. Their Majesties the King and Queen have entertained these young men.

I have hopes that before long young men from Orissa will join those from other provinces, and that the name of Orissa will be inscribed on the annals of the Air Forces of the Empire. not merely on the side of the planes to which we have subscribed, but in golden letters recording brave acts performed by young Oriyas. I am glad to learn that some young men here have enlisted in the 50th Labour Company. They too will contribute to victory, helping to defend not only India but probably Egypt as well, as their fathers in the last war helped to win victory in countries far from their homes.

We shall win this war too, but we have to do all we can to shorten the road to victory, so that we may get down again to the proper task of mankind, making the world a better place for future generations to live in.

This is my last visit to Koraput, a district, of which I shall carry away on my retirement from India, many pleasant memories. I hope you will all give to my successor, Sir Hawthorne Lewis, as much support, sympathy and affection as you have given to me.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR ON THE
26TH JANUARY 1941, AT BALASORE.

My Friends :

It is some little time, indeed over two months, since I last spoke to a War Committee. My last speech was at the other end of the Province, Naurangapur in Koraput district, on November the 13th. Since then a good deal has happened. I got back from Naurangapur that evening in time to hear of one of the most daring and successful exploits of the War, when the Fleet Air arm, that is to say the Air Force operating under the command of the Navy, dived under the balloon barrage at Taranto to put out of action nearly half of the best ship of the Italian Navy. Relying on their own valour, and heartened by that exploit and other assistance given to them, the Greeks have driven the invading Italians far back into the territory of Albania, that country which the Italians so treacherously seized two years ago. Then on December the 9th General Wavell struck at the Italians in the desert west of Egypt, and in six weeks his forces have driven the Italians out of the small portion of Egypt they had occupied, have penetrated deep into Libya, and in doing so have captured some 80,000 prisoners and immense war material at a cost in casualties of well under 2,000. In these last amazingly successful operations the soldiers of India have played a very notable part. You have, I hope, read what the Premier of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Haiyat Khan, has said of all this after his recent visit to Egypt.

In other fields the war situation is decidedly better than it was two months ago. The people of England, especially in the larger towns, are still having a very hard time of it. It is difficult perhaps for us who live in a warm climate to realise how hard it is. Quite apart from the risk of death by bombing

there is for many the need for leaving one's house for an underground shelter at night, and the chance of finding one's house in ruins the next morning, or at least of finding the windows that give protection against the bitter cold destroyed. Still the people of England are sticking it out, as they stuck it out in the months of July, August, September and October. And the latest news is that the frequency and violence of German raids on England is now much less than it was, and toll is taken nightly of their planes. Meantime our own air forces operating from England, including not a few of Indian pilots and not a few aircraft which have been built from money subscribed in India, continue to devastate Germany and German occupied countries. Their attacks are scientifically aimed at smashing the power of the Germans to produce munitions of war, at wrecking their internal communications, and at transforming their stores of oil into vast columns of black smoke. Last but by no means least they are aimed at devastating the ports from which submarines emerge to harrass British shipping, the air bases from which German bombers seek to terrorise the British civil population, and finally the places where Hitler is still preparing his desperate venture of an invasion of England. If he decides on that venture, England is ready for him. And remember that behind the endurance of the common people of England, the daring and skill of the forces of the British Empire, and the unceasing energy of those who are producing weapons of war stands now ranged without any question the might of the United States of America, ready to be the arsenal for the fight against the evil forces of Nazism and Fascism.

But though we have much to be thankful for in the last few months, we much realise that the fight is by no means over. And here in India, although very much has been done in the way of war effort, very much still remains to be done. Indeed, during the last two months I regret that something has been attempted to slow up India's war effort. Though it is widely proclaimed by everybody that Nazism and Fascism are hated by all alike, yet there have been recently indications in India that some people think their cherished theories or their personal future are more important than the defeat of the common enemy. This has led to a situation in which my Government, like other Governments in India, have been obliged to take action.

I dislike having to send people to jail, almost as much as many of those who are going to jail dislike having to go. But it is their fault not mine. They have placed their wills in the custody of a single person, precisely as the people of Germany and the people

of Italy have done. Fortunately, they have chosen a much less unpleasant depository. But one cannot forget that the single person, who controls their wills, at the end of June last made an important public announcement. In the very darkest hour of last year, and I may add in the very darkest hour for the future of human freedom, he praised the Government of France for yielding to the powers of evil and urged Britain to follow the example of Surrender. Had that appeal been listened to, there is no manner of doubt what would have been the fate of India. It would have been the fate which the German occupied countries now suffer, with one extremely important difference. Their present fate is one that before long will, by the might of Britain and America, be changed from sorrow into joy. But there would have no such change in India or in any other part of the world had Mr. Gandhi's appeal been accepted.

His principal lieutenant has recently stated that if India itself were invaded, he would draw his sword and fight. Later he explained, in deference to his leader, that he meant he would only do this in certain circumstances. He is probably well aware that it wants a good deal more than a sword to resist an invader now-a-days, and that modern warfare seldom allows an individual sufficient time to ensure that all the conditions which will stimulate his reluctant belligerency have been satisfied.

And now I come to what I urge you to do. First of all I want you to keep Balasore and all Orissa as free as possible from this foolish campaign which is giving comfort and hope to that wicked man, Hitler. Next, I want you to see to it that Balasore plays a more worthy part in giving or lending money to help in the struggle. I know it is not a rich district and I know that parts of it suffered from the floods of last July. I may claim, I think, that that suffering met with a prompt and adequate response from my Government and my officers. Those of you who escaped that suffering can surely do more than you have done to show that you appreciate the advantages of living under an ordered government willing and able to remedy disasters which cannot be averted. If Hitlerism had prevailed, as it came near to doing six months ago, you would have had no such advantages.

I have said advisedly "give or lend" money. It is clear that no one can expect Orissa to go on *giving* on the scale that she has been giving for the last three or four months. But the Defence Loans afford an opportunity to all to put by something for the future in full assurance that they will get

their money back with a moderate increase by way of interest. I think by now you all realise that this is India's war, as much as it is the war of the rest of the British Empire and, indeed, of all peoples who do not wish to succumb to the brutal and soulless terrorism of Nazism. By subscribing to Defence Loans you will be doing something to save for yourselves and for your children the liberty of thought and action, that you now have, and that is by no means a narrow liberty. Further, you will be doing much to widen that liberty. I have to-day to bid farewell to the people of Balasore, a district with which I have had a less or greater connection for nearly 20 years. I trust that in the years to come the prosperity of Balasore will ever increase.

**PRESIDENT'S
SECRETARIAT**

LIBRARY